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HENRY WARD BEECHER.

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THANKSGIVING SERMON.

WAR AND PEACE.

"And many people shall go and say, Come ye, and let us go up to the mountain of the Lord, to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk in his paths; for out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people; and they shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."—ISA. II., 3, 4.

Does it not seem strange to you, when you look back upon the long line of nations, civilized or semi-civilized, and read their literature, their poetry, and their philosophies, and see on every side only a spirit of rivalry and of military glory,—does it not, then, seem strange that the one sweet voice that is lifted up like a chant or a hymn, through all the ages, was the voice of the old Hebrew people? They were themselves not unwarlike; they were a people of fierce passions, whom it required ages to discipline; and yet their prophets, instead of being the leaders of the people to believe that war was the favorite pastime of the gods, and that it was the mark of honor among men to be eminent in military skill and prowess, taught that when God should rule, the earth would be at peace; and that when the ways of God should be observed, and the law should go forth from Zion, it would be then the time when all people should turn from military occupations, and bestow themselves upon remunerative industrial and civil pursuits.

This passage which I have read is the exultant prediction that a day shall come to pass when the nations shall be governed by God's will. That is, national laws and national policies shall yet be controlled, not by the lowest passions of mankind as largely as hitherto, but by the highest moral sentiments. A day is coming

THURSDAY MORNING, NOV. 28, 1872. LESSON: ISA. XI., 1-9; LXV., 17-25. HYMNS (Plymouth Collection): Nos. 59, 1011.

when public sentiment shall demand that public men shall be nobler morally; when all public laws shall be couched and framed in the highest moral interest of the whole; and when the policy of nations shall conform to the beneficent policy of Divine providence. When that shall take place, there will be universal peace; and this peace will turn the resources of nations into wealth-producing channels.

From the very terms that are employed here, we may say that this will be done, when it is done, by the laborers of the world—by the artisans and by the husbandmen. For, when it is declared that "they shall beat their swords into ploughshares," it is *the people* that shall do it. When it is declared that their spears shall be beaten into pruninghooks, it is the spears of *the people* of which the writer speaks. "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

To-day, the supreme business of nations in European Christendom is teaching the whole people how to war; but when the equity of the Gospel shall come, as it is declared that it shall come, that whole system of military instruction shall be done away. All the resources that are swallowed up now in military affairs shall be turned toward the civilization, the education and the comfort of the people; and sorrow and sighing shall flee away, and poverty shall be well-nigh unknown, and God shall reign from the rising of the sun until the going down of the same, and fill the earth with his glory.

The greatest obstruction, to-day, to the progress of civilization and of religion, applied to human affairs, is in the unnatural potency of the war-making faculties of the human mind.

Here, then, are the facts. The highest condition of civilization will be one in which the war-spirit shall be extinguished, and reason and the moral sentiments shall invoke and maintain their place.

Secondly, all this work requires the co-operation of the great laboring class of the community. In the lower stage of mankind, where men seem to be encouraging, from their animal condition, the law of the animal kingdom—namely, force, and its near allies, craft and cunning—there physical force, supplemented by so much intelligence only as shall make it most effectual, is universal; and in this lower stage of human existence, we call men savages. The savage lives by force. If there is anything else, it is only so much mind as is necessary to make cunning, in addition to force. But the line of development is directly away from physical force toward social, moral and intellectual force. The line of development is

therefore towards the application of these higher elements. You can never extinguish physical force, nor those great appetites and passions by which it is set in motion; but the line of development will require that this force shall be more and more sparingly employed upon men, and that it shall be more and more reserved and concentrated upon physical things.

I do not believe the time has come, or nearly come, in which governments can exist without armed force. I do not believe that municipal bodies can exist without police force—which is only another form of armed force; I do not believe that even in the rearing of the household the time has come in which you can set at naught, utterly, the use of physical force; but I say that the necessity for it is evidence of the fact that we have the lingering remain of savageism in us. Physical force is indispensable. There is as yet no other element employed by men by which they can succeed. In proportion as families, and cities, and nations are impoverished in social or moral force, they must fall back on something; and rather than fall into the gulf of ungoverning anarchy, they must apply physical force; but the less there is of it, in any nation on any part of the globe, so that all the great economies of society can be carried on, the further removed are men from barbarism, and the nearer have they approached the ideal of Christian civilization.

The globe, however, is not to be without appetite and passion, nor without those intense physical energies which are inspired by them. It does not follow, because we do not any longer make war upon each other, that the armed hand will go out of use. No, swords are not to be thrown away; they are to be beaten into pruninghooks. The spear is not to be wasted; it is to be made into an instrument of industry. So the crushing power, the organized physical force, that men now form into armies, and by which they sweep fellow nations, is to be directed against nature—against the soil, against the rock, against metal. We are to pierce mountains; we are to tunnel hills; we are to cut ways for industry; we are to rear up fleets; and we are to battle storms. We are to be warriors still, but warriors for peace; warriors against the forces of nature that resist us, until we subdue the nations to the blessed condition of industry, as well as social and civil conquest. And the ratio of civilization will be found to be just in proportion to the difference that exists between the use of physical force for managing men, and the use of physical force for controlling nature.

The higher instincts, then, when civilized, become engineers'

forces, and not military forces. There are fields in them for force-inspiring energies; and as they find useful application, less and less will they be employed as against men.

The time has come, or at least is now near, when there shall be an organization of nations for the peace of the world. We have an organization in every town or village in this land by which no one man is allowed to let loose his passions as he pleases. The good of every citizen in the town requires that the lawless forces of men shall be regulated. The law undertakes to do for men what in a savage or barbarous condition they undertake to do for themselves. But the time is coming when nations shall organize for the same purposes that villages and towns do now, and when it shall be as unlawful for a nation to let loose its avaricious and vindictive desires in the community of nations, without their leave, as it is for a man to let loose his personal passions in the midst of civilized men, without law, and without the leave of a magistrate.

We are educating, step by step, in that direction. For the last half century there has been, perhaps, a not very visible, but nevertheless a very real and distinct, approach toward a higher and a better mode of settling national disputes than by war. That arbitration which had many illustrations before the great and noble instance which occupied so recently the thought of the civilized world, on the whole tends to development and to growth; but it must be followed by others. There must be a code of international law, covering more perfectly the great issues likely to come up. Above all, there must be overhanging public sentiment, an educated conscience, and an educated judgment of that source from which all real power in a nation comes—namely, the common people. And I shall address to that intent, and in that direction, the residue of my remarks this morning. I shall speak on the subject of War and Peace; and I shall discuss it from the standpoint of the great industrial classes in the community.

I doubt whether very much will ever be accomplished, or if accomplished will ever be made efficient in practice, until the great mass of laboring men through Christendom have been educated to hate war. I think there is a tendency already beginning to show itself in that respect; light is dawning; but hitherto the masses of men have, on the whole, been in favor of anything that should carry nations into war. War has, until within a comparatively recent period, almost always been popular with the bulk of the nations. To be sure, after long continued wars, when everything has been wasted, and men have been reduced to the extremest and direst poverty and trouble, there has risen up a hatred of war; but

it has lasted only long enough to grow a few trees to cover the graves of the slain, and to raise up a new generation of children. Then the sound of the trumpet has been the sweetest sound that men could hear, and war their pastime again. And so wave after wave of war has rolled across the world.

But I think the time is coming when men are going to make a stand, from which they are not going to retreat; and that from that point, step by step, onward and upward, we are going to gain, at last, ascendency over one of the direst evils that ever afflicted mankind.

In our time, the right thought is with the inspired few—with the educated; but the inspired few are generally prophets without a following. Ordinarily, men who point out right ways do not live to see the accomplishment, practically, of that which they teach theoretically. They are like John the Baptist, who died before Christ completed or even began his ministry. They are the voice of men crying in the wilderness, and saying, "*Prepare* ye the way; make the paths straight." The source of thought is the intelligence of the inspired few; but not so the source of power, by which things become omnipotent. That power resides in the mass of the people. And, however many wise thoughts, or treatises, or laws you may have on the subject of war, and however much it may be the desire of rulers or ministers, of justice, or good men, to have peace, you never will be able to control this monster until you have that power which means a real educated conviction of the common people on your side. If they mean war, you cannot stop it. If they mean peace, you cannot inflame it.

There must, therefore, be diffused among them the knowledge that war strengthens the enemies of the common people; that it impoverishes the laborer; and that it perverts that development and enterprise which is now the growing aspiration of the laboring classes.

Do you suppose that I am a Communist when I say that I sympathize with the Communists—as I do? Do you suppose I am an International because I say that I sympathize with the Internationals—as I do? It is not because they are Communists; it is not because they are Internationals; it is not because I think their creed to be wise, or tenable in philosophy. On the other hand, I regard their creed to be heretical, and much that belongs to them to be atrocious and detestable. But this I say: that the masses of laborers, who have been blind as bats, and whose hands have been made weak, are beginning to feel for each other, and to say, "Can we not by combination find some way by which to make our bur-

dens less, and break the yokes from off our necks?" Are they in their ignorance to be cast out of sympathy and universal care because as yet they do not know? And how shall they learn in their bondage? How should they have learned in the weary pilgrimage which they have gone through thus far in the desert? Who has been their teacher? Have schools been so common in Europe that all the peasantry have had a chance to become informed? Has education been on so broad a scale that they are made familiar with poltical wisdom? And, betrayed by their priesthood; ground down by their rulers, from generation to generation; with no outlets and no opportunities; with little comfort and much suffering; and with the very future itself darkened by those to whom they look for instruction and religion, and who say that men who wail through life are to wail hereafter forever, shall these masses of men, feeling at last the inspiration that belongs to our age and our time, and going forth and groping for something better—shall they be held to as exact an account as you, or as men who are members of academies of science, or those who fill legislative halls? I am sorry for them. I am not in sympathy with their theories. I think them to be wholly mistaken theories, that they themselves will by and by cast away. Laboring men, feeling an aspiration for something higher, have cried, holding up their hands toward the east, and uttering a wail like that of the old Hebrews, "How long, O Lord! how long?" while hundreds of years have gone thundering with war past them. And I pray for the time to come when the great mass of the common people who now are misrepresenting themselves in this, that and the other abortive effort, shall have better leaders, a better philosophy, and better success in the slow conflict which they are attempting to wage with those elements in society which have oppressed them, and do still oppress them.

When, then, I behold this vast bulk of unorganized men, conscious of wrong, and smarting under it, and attracted by every "Lo here!" and "Lo there!" and rushing after new theories, as the old Jews did at the Advent, and running after every man who calls himself annointed—when I look upon them, and see their distress, I fain would say to them, "There is a Jesus coming; there is an Advent not far off; there is justice, there is love and there is triumph for you!" I fain would make religion say, what it never has said, to the great mass of the peasantry in Europe—"Come unto me, and I will give you rest."

In the first place, there must be more intelligence diffused among them. The education of the common people ought to be the special enthusiasm of our age. It is fundamental. It is abso-

lutely necessary. It ought not to be permitted that any child that is born should grow up unintelligent or uneducated. Where knowledge is a virtue, there ignorance is a crime; and I hold that every government, to say nothing about churches and parishes, is bound, not simply to promote education, but to enforce education upon every child that comes into the world. You ought to put your ballot-box behind your school-house, and every child that votes should go through the school-house to vote. It ought to be made as obligatory on a man to be intelligent, as to be a wise citizen in any other respect. We must begin with the thorough education of the whole mass of society.

A law of intelligence and skill, then, which is the actual law of nature, must be taught to men. For, if men are organizing industrial associations, guilds, communes, and various other bodies, to attempt to make all men equal, and to wring out of society a system which shall make it obligatory that all men shall be paid alike, and that all men shall be regarded alike, then they are going right straight back to Egypt again. It is a rebellion against Jehovah.

"Well, but," you say, "men are free." In fact? No, only in theory and right. Every man has a right to be free; but a quarter of the globe in reality are born not free. "All men are equal." How? In height? I think not. In girt? Hardly. In weight, avoirdupois? Notoriously not. Equal, then, how? In thought power? Certainly not. In moral power? Certainly not. In wealth-producing power? No, certainly not. There are infinite variations among men in these regards. In what respect, then, are men equal? In no other respect than this: that before the law neither is inferior to the other. The law is bound to regard a right just as right in one class of society as in another. Right is no righter at the top than it is at the bottom, and wrong is no wronger at the bottom than at the top, in the eyes of the law. The laws recognize all men alike, and ought to be administered without partiality. In Europe it used to be so that if a peasant committed murder, he was punished four times as severely as a noble; but the law says, "Men are equal in that respect. If a peasant commits a crime he is no more a criminal than a noble who commits a crime." Men are equal before the law in respect to justice; but the idea that there is any such thing as dynamic equality is the wildest hallucination that ever disturbed the brain of man. Men are not all free, as a fact, though they ought to be. Neither are they equal in power. And any theory of society which undertakes to proceed upon an equality and fraternity in all affairs among men, so that the dull hand shall be re-

garded as no less valuable than the thinking and skillful hand, and so that the non-earning man shall stand as high as the earning man, thus abolishing all moral distinctions, and distinctions of skill, and distinctions of intelligence, between man and man, will be a failure. It is no less preposterous, and no less absolutely against the laws of nature, than the fantasy and folly of that gardener who raises oaks and huckleberry bushes side by side, and undertakes to exalt the huckleberry bushes, and make it appear that they are larger than the oaks.

Men must be taught to observe. They will be, by and by; but let there first be intelligence; and then, out of intelligence will come a more just conception of the nature of man, of the organization of men in society, and of their relative forces in industry. There must be a determination among the common people to organize themselves so that every man shall have his chance; so that every man shall assert and maintain his personal freedom; so that every man shall claim and secure his right to all that which belongs to the force he carries—so much and no more. There must also be a determination that war shall not rule industry; that it shall not be dynastic; and that if it is permitted at all, it shall be by the voice of the nation, and not by the voice of its rulers. In other words, the common people must be so instructed that they shall say, "If there is going to be war, we are to have our say first, and the rulers theirs afterwards.

I wish, now, therefore, not to argue the evils of war in general, nor to argue the wrongs of war in most cases, but to give some reasons why all who depend upon labor for support, and all who are seeking to build up for themselves and their children a home, should hate war, and study to prevent it.

First, all the laboring men of the Christian world have interests in common, as against those influences by which war has usually been made. In other words, the men who make the most use of war are the men who most oppress the common people. In resisting war, men resist their natural oppressors. Soldiers are from the common people; and in war they prey upon each other. When France goes to war against Germany, the artisans of Paris shoot down the artisans of Berlin. When Prussia goes to war against Austria, men who live by the shop and upon the soil, and who are natural sympathizers with each other against nobles and dynasties, weaken themselves and strengthen their oppressors by killing each other. All wars are conducted by the bone and muscle and enthusiasm of those classes of men who need sympathy for themselves, and need to be leagued with each other.

The vast armies which are drafted rest with the most weight upon the poor—for at length it is the ground that every building stands upon. You may put as many girders as you please under the roof; you may put as many columns as you please along under them; but you only transmit the bearing force; and when, at last, it stops, it rests upon the broad earth. You may make as many arrangements as you please between the crowned head and the peasant; but at last, the whole weight of taxation, the whole burden of society, comes down upon the shoulders of the poor and needy.

When men come to learn this, there will be a different feeling among the common people. It is true in Europe, that the war system involves the rich and the poor; but the rich, in most cases, can buy exemption from conscription, or, where they fail in that, can, with their wealth, by procuring substitutes, avoid actual service in the army. Single men, from nineteen to twenty-four years of age, are taken out of the great bulk of their citizens, just at the time of that formative period when industrial skill is taking its shape, and are required to learn the art of war and remain in the camp. Now, I say, although it seems as if it were very hard to take a professional young man whose father is a distinguished councilor in Berlin, and draft him into the army, and put him through the military drill, it is harder yet to take the young man whose father is a common laborer. There is great sympathy and consideration for the man of the upper class, but it is said of the peasant, the Suabian, "He owns little or nothing, and it cannot make much difference with him, so he ought to go." I say it is a great deal harder for the poor peasant to be put into the army than it is for the son of a great councilor or millionaire. If there is any one that can afford to have a dunce for a son, it is the rich man. If there is any one that can afford to have sons grow up in a manner which shall unfit them for taking care of themselves, it is the man who has property to take care of them with. And if there is any one who cannot afford to lose his opportunity in life, it is the man who has nothing. He is at the bottom; and if he is to hold himself up, it will require the development and use of everything that he has in him. If he is to work out a future for his household, he must have a chance to employ his time and thought, which are his only capital, in a way that shall bring about this result. Therefore, when a war of conscription brings the poor into the ranks, the weight comes on them more than upon the rich.

Consider what the mass of men are who are shut up in the armies of Europe. Of our own small army I shall speak by and by,

if I do not forget it. It is estimated and this estimate was made seven years ago, and the figures have been very much enlarged since that time, that there are five millions of armed men in the Christian lands of Europe. It is estimated that the regular armies number that. And if you count the reserves—that is to say, men who have been in the army, and have gone back one step, but are liable to be called out any hour, then there are five millions more to be added. So that there are ten millions of soldiers in Europe. And war never will take poor material. It always picks and gets the best. As we get the best timber for ships, so the best men are taken for armies. The near-sighted, the blind, the deaf, the cripples, can stay at home; but the round, the plump, the brawny, the strong, are taken for war. And in Christendom there are more than ten millions of men whose supreme business is war.

Look, for a moment, at the tables which have been published in Vienna. It is said that Russia has 862,000 men engaged in war. I do not mention the horses, the artillery, the cannon, and so on, but simply the men. The number in Russia has become much larger since. This table was prepared seven years ago. There are as many as 835,000 men drawn out from industrial occupations to stand in their war-shoes. Austria has 740,000 men clad in iron. The English armed force at home, throughout her provinces, and elsewhere, is 471,000 men. France has an army of more than 500,000 men. Besides, there are minor states in Europe which go to make up more than 5,000,000 men which belong to the regular standing armies of Europe.

Now, it is not merely that these men are being brought up, or arrayed against the interests of the common people, as substantially they are; but consider how much productive industry is withdrawn by withdrawing five millions of the very best men from that period of their life which is the best for productivenes. Consider, further, what is the enormous expense of supporting these men. It is four hundred million pounds sterling a year—over two thousand million dollars a year. And it must have been augmented by probably a third to a half since this estimate was made. Probably twenty-five hundred millions of dollars a year, by taxation, are gathered from the laboring classes of Europe, to keep from five to ten millions of men out of productive industry, to keep them in a state in which they should do violence to each other—that is, to the common laborers of Europe. From 83 to 90 per cent. of all the taxation in Christendom is expended in military matters.

Look at these facts. Do you believe there is any such thing as

r ligion in the world? Was there ever a Christ? Did the Orient dawn lighter, as, hanging in the east, angels sang, "Peace on earth, good will to men?" And now, for nearly two thousand years under Christian crowns and priestly mitres, there stand embattled in Europe nearly 10,000,000 men, and $2,500,000,000 annually wrung out by taxation from the people. And of the sum total of all the money raised by taxation in Europe for the support of the governments, from 83 to 90 per cent. is paid for military purposes to-day. There are more than $90 paid in Christendom for war to every $1 that is paid for preaching and spreading the Gospel.

That is the state of things in the present day. Have men had their eyes open? Have they thought about this? Is it not something to be racketed in the shops, and discussed in the village debating societies? Is it not something for the anvil to ring out to the saw, and for the saw to speak of to the plane, and for the plane to talk to the sickle about? Should it not be understood by laborers everywhere that there is this infernal dynasty of cruelty and violence which will hold men down as long as it is permitted to exist?

There is another point respecting this question which is worthy of attention. In Russia there has been an excess of expenditure over income since 1832. In other words, so great an empire as Russia spends so much for war that she cannot possibly maintain the expenditure, and goes on from year to year with a deficit, increasing her financial burdens, and rolling over and over a national debt which she has no power to meet, and which sooner or later will be destructive to both the poor and the rich, like an avalanche, which, when it falls, sweeps down and buries everything in its way. In Austria the accumulated deficits from 1851 to 1856, amounted to 130,000,000 pounds sterling. France, before the last war, was sinking miserably and hopelessly into debt. Her indebtedness, in thirteen years, increased from 213,000,000 pounds sterling to 492,000,000 pounds sterling, the deficit during that period amounting to 279,000,000 pounds sterling. The Kingdom of Italy cannot meet its expenses. It is raising more and more men every year, every year is coming nearer and nearer to bankruptcy, and is staggering to its downfall. And yet, Italy, if it had no army to support, if it could live in peace, and turn all its resources into industrial channels, would become one of the compactest and strongest of States. The curse, to-day, of Germany, Austria, France and Italy, is, that they stand looking like so many lions over against one another, each piling up means of defence; each sucking the blood of industry; each robbing its poor to build

stronger forts, and supply them with more armaments; and each approaching nearer and nearer the verge of financial failure. And when ground, tormented, and taxed to the uttermost, the peasantry begin to heave, and break out into revolutions, and unite in secret societies, or otherwise, to relieve themselves from their grievous oppressions, holy men lift hands of horror, and wonder why God permits such wicked discontent to grow up among the common people! The world is rotten!

What have the wars of the last two hundred years gained for Europe that might not have been more certainly gained by the intelligence of the common people? Two nations will fight about a map. For that which is worth perhaps $40,000,000, they will go to war; and when they have suffered the loss of 200,000 men and $200,000,000, they settle the war, *but not the question.* That goes over for the next generation to play with again. There has hardly been a dispute that could not have been easily settled by the payment of a few million dollars. I do not believe in bribery; but I think nations might be willing to settle with money many and many a question about which they fight, involving a few feet of ground here, or a small strip of land there. But, oh! it is a question of honor! Honor? It is the devil's honor. It is the honor of passion. It is the honor of pride. It is the honor of combativeness. It is the honor of destructiveness. It is the honor of the dragon that lies coiled up in the base of every man's brain!

Do you know where men come from? Some come, I think, from crocodiles; some, I think, were lions; some, I think, were tigers or panthers; some, bears or wolves; some, sneaking foxes; some, snakes. I do not mean that it is literally so; but they act just as though they had come from that ancestry, and retained the essential traits of their ancestors!

Now, I do not take the ground that all defensive wars are wrong. I do not think they are. I do not believe that the use of physical force to maintain the great moral ends of justice, liberty and national life can yet be dispensed with. The time is coming when it can be dispensed with, but that time has not come yet. I agree with the most advanced men, that the ideal of Christianity is absolute peace; I believe that the ideal of Christianity is to suffer evil rather than inflict evil; but Christianity has not yet come to its ideal. You cannot bring communities up by the ears. You may say to the individual man, "You are bound to develop to the uttermost;" but he cannot develop thus all at once. Since God ordained that men and society should come up by growth, you cannot force them up. Growth, of necessity, requires time. The

ideal of Christianity is final and universal peace, and it is the duty of nations to dispense with physical force as fast and as far as possible; but you cannot dispense with it suddenly, and disband all armies and police organizations, and leave the world to think that there is no government. To do that would be to leave the world to brutality, and make the tyrant more tyrannical, and the lawless more lawless. Until society is stronger in the direction of the social, intellectual and moral elements, we must use an inferior instrument. We must use the hand till the head and the heart are right. Christianity is so large that we are to grow into it gradually; but as fast as possible nations should take hold of its principles.

I take the ground that the time has come when by suitable efforts the war spirit may be abated, and men in the main set against it. The time has come when the forces of nations may be so combined as to reduce the temptations of war. Nations can be so organized as to prevent any unruly member from going to war, as rightfully as municipal bodies in towns and villages can prevent any citizen from going into a fight at the expense of the peace of the whole community. The peace of the world, in other words, is not to be subject to the whim or caprice of any single nation, any more than the peace of a nation is to be subject to the whim or caprice of any man or body of men in it.

We have seen dueling go out of practice almost entirely. It has been thought that two men might go out and settle their differences by the use of deadly weapons; but that idea is fast going out of date. It is thought that two nations have a right to fight national duels to settle their difficulties; but this sort of dueling is just as wrong as the other, and just as really and as easily vincible. There should be, therefore, such steps taken as, for instance, the organization of a national congress, for enacting international law, and administering that law between nation and nation. At present the law of nations is crude, and a large part of the ground between nation and nation is not covered by national enactments. But we have come to a time when I think we might begin, at last, to form a national congress, that shall enact laws which shall be for the good of all nations, and by which all nations alike shall be bound. There are some international laws, which pertain more largely to commerce than to anything else; but I think the time has come for a more thorough work through the organization of a national congress. There must be a determination to so educate the whole people that the current of public sentiment will run in that direction. If the people remain ignorant on the subject, or indifferent to it, it will

be in vain to undertake to institute and carry out this reform; but if the people are instructed, and aroused to feel that their interests lie in peace, then "*Vox populi*" will be "*Vox Dei*"—a proverb which has been as little understood and as much abused as any proverb in the world. If by saying that the voice of the people is the voice of God, you mean that the people have the power to know a truth as God has power to know it, that is hideously false; for the vast mass of the common people have almost no power to comprehend the truth. But when the truth is found out and made known to the great mass of the common people, and they accept it, and lift up their voice, and give it power, then the voice of the people is indeed the voice of a heaven full of gods. And we must get the power of the people to enforce the laws which may be enacted by an international congress.

On the church of God rests, primarily, this work. I do not undertake to say, I am far from saying, that a church should turn aside from its work of individual evangelization, of preaching the Gospel from man to man, in the society where it exists; yet the church universal has a large sphere. It is bound to stand foremost in making reformatory laws, in tempering brutal penalties, and in infusing sympathy and love into men, instead of separating them by sharp theological prejudices. The church of God, as a representative of Christ, must go forth, not to preach will, nor even conscience, but a Gospel which shall employ that will and that conscience in the world as instruments by which to secure peace and harmony among nations, as well as individuals. God's church is hereafter to promote more widely and efficiently those institutions, and laws, and governments which shall diffuse through civil economy everywhere the essential spirit of humanity.

There is also a mission laid on America. This people has the power, by its example, of doing what no other nation on the earth can. Was it in vain that we were shut out by the seas from the evils of those heated questions which afflict Europe? Was it in vain that, in the construction of this Government, that marvelous economy of national life was established, by which, from ocean to ocean, every State moves on every other State as if it were hinged to it, so that they are easily moveable, and are not easily fractured, and are able to maintain unity with all their diversity? What if every State on this continent were a separate nation, and each had to have a standing army, and its aggressive or vengeful policy? Do you not see that then our peace would be gone, and that our power, instead of being expended in pursuits of industry, would be wasted through contentions and

strifes? But God has been pleased to sweep out from our midst the abomination of slavery, and to enable us to maintain that unity of national life which gives us no excuse for supporting large armies and navies. Three thousand miles, and five thousand miles, from our shores, are our nearest enemies, and the ocean is cool, and many a passion has time to subside before a voyage can be made over the sea. Oh! that kings were as seasick as I am, and always had to cross the ocean before they went to war!

Is it, I ask again, in vain that we are thus set apart? Is it in vain, and simply for our own good, that we have been enabled to maintain such strange prosperity? Is it in vain that all the nations of Europe stand on tiptoe looking over upon the liberty of the common people here? Is it in vain that in every recess of their mountains, that in every canton, or town, or shire, the common school system of America is well known, and that it is understood that all our children—those of the poor as well as those of the rich—are educated, and that all of them become voters, and that the land belongs to the people who dwell upon it, and that they are almost untaxed? Is it in vain that the peasantry of less fortunate nations behold the advantages and privileges of the common people of this country?

To-day the power of America in Europe is such that the strongest nation there explains to our government that she is obliged to put an edict upon emigration hither from North Germany, for fear that her territory will become so depopulated that she will not have enough men for her armies. She wishes America to understand that it is not an unfriendly act in her, but one of necessity. God be thanked for that confession! In her present position, I would not weaken one hair of the head of William. In his present position, I would not weaken one single sinew in the sturdy arm of Bismarck. In their magnificent attitude of liberty of conscience and intelligence, as against the hierarchies and superstitions of the medæval ages, I say, God bless the kingdom of Germany! Their blood is our blood. We were of them. We owe to them the best things that we receive from abroad. Coming through England, they stopped there a little to be planted as seed-corn, and then they become the seed-corn of the continent of America. Their tears were the rain which made our soil rich. They bought by suffering many of the privileges which we enjoy. And they have been divinely called to stand for the liberty and intelligence of the common people. God forbid that we should withhold from them our sympathy—particularly, when the nobles are striving against the government to maintain their own authority as against a more liberal administration.

No, Germans stay at home for the present. Though war-ridden, though overtaxed, though oppressed, and made to suffer in many ways, at present your mother needs you, and I beg you to stand by the old roof-tree, and come not hither.

But thank God that they want to come. Thank God that they ought to want to come. Thank God that there is a nation couched down on this vast continent which has developed more wealth, more intelligence, more freedom, larger ideas and nobler policies than ever have been developed in any other nation on any such scale as here.

I do not say this, boasting as an American citizen, but that I may roll upon this people the responsibility of using her tremendous example, which is shaking the whole world to-day, in such a manner that its force shall be turned against war, and in favor of peace.

Let the common people of America have one heart in this matter. You are brothers to all those who toil in affliction on the other side of the water The gyves have fallen from your hands, but are still on theirs. You are free, and your children have the benefit of free institutions; but look at the common people of Europe, and see how they are ground under oppression. See how they are dashed hither and thither, and used by men who through war seek to diminish the strength of the subject and increase the strength of the monarch. Let every man in America — every master-workman, and every apprentice, and every man that earns his bread by the sweat of his brow—say to his fellows in Europe, "By all that is precious in liberty, and by all that is real in religion, put down war! Let not kings compel you."

Hate war, resist it, and raise above you such a public sentiment that no nation shall be permitted to go to war without the consent of every other Christian nation. Then we shall have come near to the time of which our text is the radiant and royal annunciation. Then the lion and the lamb shall lie down together. Then men shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruninghooks, and nations shall learn war no more.

PRAYER BEFORE THE SERMON.

We desire, our Father, to draw near to thee, this morning, in this place, made sacred by so many hallowed associations, to render thanksgiving to thee for all the bounties of years, and for our participation therein. We thank thee that thou hast been gracious to us individually; that thou hast spared life and health, and that thou hast bestowed so many comforts of life as have surrounded us. We desire to make mention of these things, though for the number of them we cannot remember them all. Thy goodness has been far beyond our understanding of thy mercy. Thou hast caused every law to fulfill thine enactments. Thou hast sent forth thy mercies by the sun and by the rain, in seed-time and in harvest. In all those mighty working laws by which the earth hath been so far blessed, thou hast spoken to us of thy thought of mercy.

We thank thee for all that thou hast granted unto us in our relations together in the household; for the plenitude of thy bounties therein; for all our joy in affection; and for all the hope that springs therefrom.

We beseech of thee that thou wilt grant to us, more and more, the spirit of thanksgiving, as a gift from God. Accept all the bounty of our affection for that which comes to us through love, and trust, and hope, and fidelity. We beseech of thee that thou wilt grant, O Lord, that we may feel, also, what great mercies have been bestowed upon us in the circumstances in which we have labored, and by which we have been surrounded. Though we have not been without our burdens; though we have not been without care, thou hast made the years profitable. And even when evil has seemed to overwhelm us, thou hast educed good from seeming evil. And thou hast, in thy providence, wondrously wrought in our hearts.

We desire to make mention of these things; and, while we confess our sins,and our unworthiness, and thy goodness, we desire, O Lord our God, to recognize thy continued mercy, and the unceasing flow of thy bounty.

We pray that thou wilt grant to us, also, a heart of gratitude for the blessings which thou hast vouchsafed to our nation. We thank thee that peace hath yet continued in its borders. We thank thee that thou art slowly but surely gathering together the hearts of this great people in a unity too firm and solid to be broken. We thank thee that thou hast been pleased to put into the hearts of men the desire to spread knowledge and intelligence to every one that walketh upon the earth. We pray that thou will grant that more and more intelligence, and moral culture, and faith in God, and love to man, may pervade the hearts of the people. For every step of development which we see, for every victory which we have gained or are gaining, we render thee, this day, thanksgiving and praise.

We beseech of thee, O Lord our God, that thou will be pleased to look in mercy upon the President of these United States, and all those who are in authority with him. Hold them strongly by the hand, and inspire them divinely by thy Spirit, that they may perceive the things which are right and just and best, and execute them.

Give wisdom, we pray thee, in the councils of the Legislature of this State, which is about to assemble, and of all the Legislatures of the neighboring States; and grant that that wisdom as expressed in their laws and their policy, may be more and more pervaded with the divine wisdom.

We pray that thou wilt grant, O Lord our God, a blessing to rest upon our Army and Navy, and upon all the officers therein, in their administration, and upon all the men who are serving therein. Grant that they may be restrained from all things that are intemperate, and from all things that are cruel and

unjust. And more and more may they be the servants of national justice. More and more may they serve the State in love.

We pray that thou will grant thy blessing to rest upon all classes and conditions of men in our land—upon the poor; upon the outcast; upon the ignorant; upon all that are overthrown; upon the vicious and the criminal. We pray that they may be brought under restraint, under the divine influence, and reformed, and made whole men.

We beseech of thee that thou wilt grant thy blessing to rest upon all the nations of the earth. Take away from them the heart of cruelty. Endue them more and more with sentiments of humanity and of justice. Wilt thou speed the cause of the right, and build up, at last, that public sentiment which shall carry in it the very heart of the Gospel by which men shall learn to love, and in which the love of God shall rain down mercy, all over the earth, in sympathy.

Let that glorious day come which thou hast predicted, and which hath so long given the hope, and tantalized it, of thy people. Let that day come when men shall learn war no more, and when the glory of the Lord shall fill the earth as the waters fill the sea.

Hear us, in these our petitions, and answer us, through Christ our Redeemer. *Amen.*

PRAYER AFTER THE SERMON.

Our Father, we beseech of thee that thou wilt bless us in the word spoken. Grant, we pray thee, that we may more and more hate war, and all violence, and love peace and all its bounteous blessings. Advance thy kingdom. O thou of the white banner! push the blood-red flag down whence it came to the valley of destruction, and grant that it may itself be destroyed. Teach men to love thee. May there be that love of God which shall break forth in the love of men. Let thy kingdom come, and the whole earth be filled with thy glory. We ask it for Christ's sake. *Amen.*

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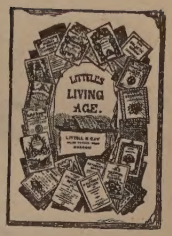

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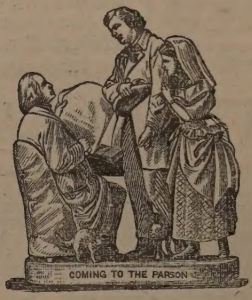

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